

The Anti-Slavery Bugle.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON, Editor.

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ANT. PEARSON, Publisher Agent.

WHOLE NO. 470.

ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE.

THE RENDITION CLAUSE.

We occupy our room with the following communication, concerning the fugitive clause of the constitution, with reluctance, as it contains nothing new on the question, but only what we have time and again laid before our readers. We very gladly give all the light that is attainable, but don't care to repeat old fallacies which we have often given our reasons for believing to be such. But Mr. Copeland is very desirous for its insertion, and we yield him the volume. If anybody shall be convinced of the anti-slavery of this clause, and all others, and shall vote and act as though he believed it, and believed it to be of importance, we shall have no regrets, but much joy at witnessing such consistency of anti-slavery opinion and action. But those men (and we know many hundreds of them) who profess to believe the Constitution anti-slavery, and yet vote for men who believe it pro-slavery, and will so swear to support it, can get from small credit for their opinions on this subject. It is often a mere subterfuge to shelter them from the charge of a pro-slavery position, which the Disunionists make and sustain against them. We do not see that it affords them any advantage. In the former case, their opinions and actions were harmoniously pro-slavery, in the latter, perhaps, their opinions may be called anti-slavery, but their votes are at war with it, and most positively pro-slavery. And very correctly the general opinion is, that it is decidedly discreditable to a *believer* in the right to *practice* the wrong. We have scripture for believing that those who received the many stripes were those who *"knew and did not."*

Mr. Copeland invites us to a discussion of the question with him. We beg to decline at this time, as we are in the same predicament that he is. We have nothing to offer which has not over and over been presented with "variations" of argument and illustrations, to the readers of the Bugle:

Whatever else this clause may mean, the nation has openly "held and interpreted" it to mean slaves. Washington so "held and interpreted" it, when he signed the first fugitive slave law, as did Fillmore, when he signed the last, and as have all the courts and legislatures from that day to this. That is the great question to the slave. It shows that something else is to be done besides forcing an anti-slavery interpretation upon this clause. And more, it shows that a Constitution that can be so "held and interpreted," with one consent, for more than half a century, is not good enough for the protection and government of a free people:

COLUMBIANA, Sept. 16, 1854.

BRO. ROBINSON:—Dear Sir: All who know anything of our past history will agree that at the time of the formation of our Constitution, thousands of paupers of the mother country, thirsting for the faded liberties of the colonial settlers, were hired by their own stipulated agreements to the captains of vessels to pay their emigration to this country. Indentured apprentices "serve or labor" for another by virtue of his own, or his guardian's contract. Condemned criminals are justly held to "service or labor," but none have the impudence to say they are held as property—to call them slaves! This class of persons, (being in every sense of the term free,) is numerously mentioned in the statutes, showing not only the necessity of what is termed the rendition clause in the U. S. Constitution, but confirms the above. The Article reads, (Art. 4, Sec. 2,) no person held to service or labor in one State, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Strange as it would appear to any intelligent person, (not Americanized,) this language is made to relate to slavery—made to mean the delivering up of the fugitive slave!

Yet all must see, if this clause must be made to relate to slavery—if to render "service or labor" makes slaves of "persons," all of us are, or should be slaves, for by a law of our nature we are, of benefit to ourselves, "held to service or labor." Again, if this Art. means slavery, and if this language, (and it is the least forcible, perhaps with in the document, for liberty,)—if this language makes the Constitution pro-slavery, then all or any of us may be made slaves at the option of the legislature! Aye, again, the Constitution recognizes laws to hold persons to "service or labor," when due by legal contract; slave acts hold persons to service or labor, therefore, by this *clause*, slave acts are constitutional! This profound syllogism is the great pillar of slavery in this country. It has, if we are to judge by results, withstood all the legal acumen of this nation for forty, if not for fifty years; if it continues for as long to come, it will then be time to propound the following:—the Constitution recognizes the right to acquire property—thief, robbery and murder are modes of acquiring property, therefore thief, robbery and murder are constitutional and lawful. But enough of this, for we have any amount of it, and enough is due.

Let us look at the language of this Art. once more, (Art. 1, Sec. 2.) Specially notice this class of persons, "bound to service or labor" for a number of years, and requires that they be counted among the free persons; be counted as units in making the basis of representation. The Article reads, (Art. 1, Sec. 2,) "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a number of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons."

Here we have it clearly and plainly expressed that those "bound to service or labor" for a number of years are included with the free persons, are free. Positively free. Then how can it be claimed that those held to service, and in Art. 4, Sec. 2, are not free, are slaves, unless it is held that there is a difference in the significance of the words "held to service," and "bound to service." Noah Webster says there is no difference in the meaning here. Where is the difference? and what? Once more even the Supreme Court lays down the rule and language—where rights are infringed, where fun-

damental principles are overthrown, where the general principle of law is departed from—the legislative intention must be expressed with irresistible clearness, to induce a court of justice to suppose an intention or design to effect such objects.—*Ex. at. Cranch 390.*

Now it needs no showing to see that the service or labor extracted from the slave is not in accordance with natural right. It needs no showing to see that *fundamental principles have been departed from*. It needs no showing to see that *rights have been infringed here, &c., &c.* Another rule requires that an innocent meaning shall be given, &c., where the language will admit of it. In my first we have it. Why pervert it? We have it at once in strict conformity to justice, natural right, and the natural language and meaning of the article.

I draw a line here, and hold that every one who has fallen in with the mad dog cry of pro-slavery Constitution, clause to return fugitive slaves, &c., should put your finger on the language and tell us what it is or sound mean. If we look into the Constitution for the word free, we find it to result from the distinction made between citizens and aliens. If we look into the law of nature for it, we find there that all men are born free and equal.

Friend Marius, you doubtless remember saying in a speech a week ago, at Cool Spring, that the only difference between the fugitive slave in Canada and in Ohio, was that the U. S. Constitution was held, interpreted to authorize the return of the fugitive to his master. The truth of the remark touched me with much interest and force. But I was sorry to own the truth, considering the reason which you failed to attempt to find, as this attempt would have been the letting out of water to the inundation of the speaker. Held to mean—interpreted to mean! So it is! But I know friend Robinson, and others of his views, are too familiar with the history of judicial proceedings to have any reverence for them. They only reluctantly believing, don't believe. But our own local history is not without hope—the same Constitution was interpreted to authorize the burning of witches. As able a Board of Supreme judges as ever since has set gave this decision, and fourteen innocent persons as witches were burned at Salem, Massachusetts. But this only lasted for a season. Those deeply deluded judges soon found their error, and asked pardon of God for the sin; of the people—the deeply deluded people! for thus deluding them and leading them astray! The people joined in lamenting the wrong they had been led to do by the decision of their deluded judges. The Stamp Act might be cited as another reversal of decision. So may the day soon come, when the none but clearly anti-slavery language of the Constitution will make the condition of the putting fugitive in Ohio, as in Canada, free. Not only so, but when a slave cannot breathe in the land. So mote it be.

J. D. COPELAND.

P. S. As a typographical error occurred in my answer to a question by J. Y. Hoover some time back, as to the meaning of "all other persons," in Art. 1, Sec. 2, let me here say, it means or relates to "resident aliens," "Indians not taxed," and possibly some others. The word "free" there describes the native and naturalized citizens of the U. S. A. This places the basis of representation upon the most equitable, just and rational ground that it can be, and the Constitution plainly expresses this meaning.

J. D. C.

AN EXTRACT

From an Address to the voters of Columbiana county.

FLORIDA WAR.

The Florida war is another instance of the burdens and aggressive nature of slavery.

Though perpetually claiming to be an independent State institution, with neither the North nor the South, the government has, in its policy, as perpetually involves us, both in the burdens and the shame of its defence.

The controlling object in the purchase of Florida was to break up the asylum it afforded to escaping slaves, and to add another, or as was desired, two more slave States to the Union. But the eagerness of the Georgia slave hunters could not wait for the purchase. Some of the escaped slaves had settled near together in the Spanish territory; had cleared and cultivated farms, and built a fort for their mutual protection, which secured them against the ordinary straggling parties of kidnappers and blood hounds. To remedy this difficulty, an order was obtained from Gen. Jackson to Gen. Gaines, to enter the Spanish territory and destroy the negro fort, and to "arrest and return the fugitive slaves to their masters." A gun-boat belonging to the United States was dispatched on this mission of piracy and foreign aggression; the fort cannonaded with hot shot, until the magazine exploded, killing 270 men, women and children, for no other cause, than that they preferred liberty to slavery! A bounty of more than \$5000 was granted the officers and crew for this wholesale murder. Here we see the United States army which is made up, and supported mainly by the men and money of the free States, and commanded by officers from the slave States, committing a wanton, deliberate and unprovoked aggression on a neighboring nation, and murdering a colony of fugitive slaves in cold blood, and receiving \$5000 of our money for the infamous act, for the sole benefit and security of this peculiar State institution, which is said to be no concern of ours.

The purchase of Florida removed only one difficulty, that of foreign jurisdiction. The slaves still escaped and were shielded and married among the Indians; immense swamps afforded them security and concealment. The Indians must be induced, either by force or bribes, to assist in the business of catching and returning runaway slaves. In a treaty concluded with the Creek, Indian, Creek, Seminole, and other tribes, all negroes then within their territory. Many of them no doubt were free, and in a treaty afterwards, with the Florida Indians, the United States agreed to pay them six thousand dollars, and an annuity of five thousand dollars for twenty years. They, on their part, stipulated to "be active and vigilant in preventing fugitive slaves from passing through their country, and in apprehending and returning to their masters such as should seek an asylum among them."

A similar article was inserted in most of the treaties with the Southern Indians, for which of course, the Indians must have consideration in money, for Indian no not love villainy well enough to practice it, like the dough-faces—gratis. What right has the general government to take our money to hire a patrol of Indians to stand guard over the slave quarters of Florida and Georgia? If our property escapes from us, we do not ask the government to interfere, or to pay expenses. Difficulties of course soon arose under these treaties. The Indians could not if they would,

prevent slaves from passing through their country, and they would not return such as had married, and settled among them. Their savage natures could not attain to that sublime height of patriotism, and self denying devotion to "law and order," as to return to slavery their wives and "mothers." This exact degree has been reached only by force. The best known of which is a doctor of divinity in the heart of New England.

Besides these difficulties, there were many free blacks among the Indians; and the Indians themselves, hold slaves. Both these classes of negroes it appears, were frequently kidnapped or stolen.—Gen. Thompson writes thus, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

"There are many very likely negroes in this nation (Seminole). Some of the whites in the adjacent settlement manifest a restless desire to obtain them, and I have no doubt that Indian raised negroes are now in the possession of the whites." A few months later, John Walker, a Seminole Chief, wrote to the Indian Agent as follows:

"I am induced to write to you in consequence of the depredations making, and attempted to be made, upon my property, by a company of negro stealers, some of whom are from Columbus, Ga., and have connected themselves with Brown and Douglas. I should like your advice how I am to act. I dislike to make trouble, or to have any difficulty with any of the white people, but if they trespass upon my premises and my rights, I must defend myself in the best way I can. If they make this attempt, I shall have no choice but to take the law into my own hands. But there is no civil law to protect me! Are the free negroes, and the negroes belonging in the town, to be stolen away publicly, and in the face of law and justice, carried off and sold, to fill the pockets of these wretched white pirates? Douglas and his company hired a man who has two large trained dogs for the purpose to come down and take Billy. He is from Mobile, and follows for a livelihood catching runaway negroes."

But this appeal for protection was unheeded. The slaves, and free negroes, were in a few days, all captured, carried off and sold! How much after this than slave catching on the coast of Georgia? Though the perpetrators of these crimes were well known, no one of this band of "land pirates" was ever brought to justice. War followed of course. Strong however as were the pro-slavery forces, the feeble Indians preferred peace to war with the United States. An armistice of hostilities was agreed on in March 1837, which would have matured into a permanent peace, if the negro stealing propensities of the Georgians, and other whites could have been restrained, and the slave holding interests had not required the continuance of peace, that the Indians should first capture and return their escaped slaves. The Indians agreed to emigrate west of the Mississippi and should be secure in their persons and property. But any attempt to seize their negroes or their land accompanied them. "This arrangement revived the hopes of the friends of peace. They indulged the hope that blood would cease to flow, and that the slaves and Indians, and to our people would again extend over this territory. But these fond hopes were soon blighted."

Twelve days after this convention was entered into, a solemn remonstrance against it was signed by a number of the high ranking officers of the Florida and transmitted to the Secretary of War. These gentlemen totally objected to any provision which did not provide for the return of their slaves. They objected to the Indians going West until they had returned to their masters. "Speech of J. R. Giddings on the Florida war."

The Indians were fully disposed to abide by their agreements. On the 23rd of March, Gen. Jessup wrote to Colonel Warren, in the following terms: "There is no disposition on the part of the great body of the Indians to renew hostilities; and they will, I am sure, faithfully fulfill their engagements, if the inhabitants of the territory be prudent. But any attempt to seize their negroes or their property would be followed by an immediate resort to arms."

On the 18th of April, Gen. Jessup wrote to the Gov. of Florida that, "if the citizens of the territory be prudent, the war may be considered at an end. But any attempt to seize their negroes or their property would cause an immediate resort to hostilities. The negroes control their masters, and they have heard of the act of your legislative council. Thirty or twenty Indian negroes were at and near my camp on the 15th of March. But the arrival of two or three citizens of Florida, said to be in search of negroes, caused them to disperse at once; and I doubt whether they will return in again. At all events, the emigration will be delayed a month, I apprehend, in consequence of the alarm of these negroes."

But these negro stealing expeditions were not restrained, and the influential slaveholders of Florida, directly or indirectly, the motives of the non-slaveholders of the community, by a continued Indian war, protested against any peace that did not secure the capture of their slaves. The war was renewed; the Indians refused to emigrate, and blood hounds from Cuba were drafted in our army, embarked in this negro hunt. Indian allies were offered 20 dollars a head for all negroes taken live; which, when taken, were handed over free of charge, to whoever claimed them. Over 500 were thus captured, and a bounty of 20 dollars per head paid their captors, from the National Treasury.

The soldiers of the regular army had their valor stimulated by the following order of Gen. Jessup: "All Indian property taken by the army from this date will belong to the corps, or detachment making it." This property consisted of "negroes, cattle and horses," as explained by letter to Col. Warren a few days later.

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Who that does not feel his heart sick with shame, and his heart swell with indignation at seeing his beloved country, prostituted by a few slave mongers to such vile purposes? Our country! claiming to be the freest in the world, coupling her soldiers with bloodhounds and Indians, in a scandalous chase after a few poor fugitive slaves; followed by the hisses and curses and contempt of the world.

This infamous negro hunt, called by courtesy, "the Florida war," was a rule of law, and conducted by the foulest of means, violating every principle of humanity and justice, and in violation of the Constitution cost the government forty millions of dollars; and what is infinitely worse, it has established the name of "a nation of kidnappers;" and yet we are impatient to tell slaveholders, and it is echoed by their nation laqueys, that "we have nothing to do with slavery."

Cuba, in whose liberation from the despotism of Spain, slaveholders are professing so lively an interest, would, in all human probability, long before this, have been not only free from the Spanish yoke, but free also, from the still more intolerable and stilling despotism of slavery, but for the interference of this government, under the dictation of the slave power.

Whilst the Spanish Colonies were engaged in the war which resulted in their independence, they called a Congress at Panama, chiefly to govern the interference of this government, under the dictation of the slave power.

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This infamous negro hunt, called by courtesy, "the Florida war," was a rule of law, and conducted by the foulest of means, violating every principle of humanity and justice, and in violation of the Constitution cost the government forty millions of dollars; and what is infinitely worse, it has established the name of "a nation of kidnappers;" and yet we are impatient to tell slaveholders, and it is echoed by their nation laqueys, that "we have nothing to do with slavery."

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There are many very likely negroes in this nation (Seminole). Some of the whites in the adjacent settlement manifest a restless desire to obtain them, and I have no doubt that Indian raised negroes are now in the possession of the whites." A few months later, John Walker, a Seminole Chief, wrote to the Indian Agent as follows:

OUTRAGEOUS CONSPIRACY—ESCAPE OF THE KIDNAPERS.

Our citizens will be astonished to learn that the three city sounders, John Buchanan, Geo. Buchanan and Wm. Grant, who were committed to our county jail for attempting to kidnap and murder a black man in our city on Sunday, 10th inst., have escaped. It was not due to breaking the bars of their cells of any such matter, but it was more than well planned and sure in its results. They are gone—gone beyond our reach, and all we are permitted to do is to inquire into the circumstances, and to hold the parties who have been engaged in the conspiracy to a strict account before public opinion.

We need not recapitulate the circumstances which led to the arrest and imprisonment of the kidnapers. The public is well informed on that point. It only remains to be told how and by whom they were released, and the circumstances under which the release was effected.

On Tuesday evening the sheriff was served with a writ of habeas corpus, issued by Chief Justice Treat, at Springfield, commanding him to appear before him in 24 hours thereafter, at chambers, in the city, with the prisoners, that he might show and there inquire whether said kidnappers were justly held to bail and imprisoned.

Mr. Thomas Hynes, chief conspirator in the matter, directly started with them to Springfield—the public, in the meantime, being kept in utter ignorance of the fact. On Tuesday morning, nothing leaked out concerning it until after the supposed departure of the delegates to the Aurora Convention, among whom were two of the attorneys, Manierre and Hynes. And it was not until 2 o'clock in the afternoon that Sheriff Bradley gave to Mr. Anthony, the remaining attorney, notice that the case was to have a hearing in twenty-four hours thereafter, and that in that time he was to gather his witnesses, prepare all the papers and get to Springfield, over two hundred miles distant. Such a "summary" proceeding was as characteristic of the supporters of the Fugitive Slave Law and present Run and Slavery party as it was subversive of public justice. Of course, Messrs. Hynes and Bradley knew that the attorneys and witnesses could not go so far on so short a notice. Nay, more, they knew that two of the attorneys were absent from the city, and at the time the prisoners were spirited away, none of them were expected to be here during the day, as all had been appointed delegates to the Aurora Convention.

Our readers and the public will see that the scheme was well planned by District Attorney Hynes and his confederates, and well executed by Mr. Sheriff Bradley, who, without complicity, glancing, Mr. Hynes knew that if he could get the writ served, and secure the co-operation of the Sheriff, he could get the kidnappers and would be murderers away and have them discharged and run off to Missouri even before the attorneys against them, as well as many of the witnesses, would return from the Aurora Convention.

Of Mr. Hynes, no other course of conduct could be expected, for it has become an axiom, that none but those who are willing to put their names to the basest villainy, will hold office under the present Run and Slavery-propaganda Administration. But for Mr. Sheriff Bradley, of whom we had a right to expect an entirely different course of conduct, what course can be offered? He only listened off the prisoners without giving notice to the prosecution, but without any necessity, for the law allowed him the most ample delay. Nay, more, he knew that he was to do his duty the writ of habeas corpus would be served, and Grand Jury had that very day found a true bill of indictment against the prisoners; which indictment would have held them, and certainly brought them to trial and merited punishment. But Mr. Bradley saw fit to overlook this fact, until he had surrendered them and they were, on their way to Springfield; and even after he had been notified of what he tried to profess ignorance of, that an indictment was lying against them at the time of their delivery, he made no attempt, that we have been able to hear of, to retake them upon that indictment, and return them to prison, to undergo trial for one of the greatest outrages that has been perpetrated in our city for many years.

From the Chicago Tribune, Sept. 15.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE, TURNER.

It seems that the negro recently arrested in this city, by the Messrs. Buchanan and Grant, was the property of Capt. George Taylor, of the steamer Belfast running on the Mississippi river. About eighteen months ago the negro went to Capt. Taylor and, persuaded him to buy him and give him a chance to pay for himself.

The captain allowed him to live on his time just as he pleased, and in fact never considered him as his slave, but more as a person to whom he had lent money to buy himself. After the negro had paid back part of the money, some of his friends persuaded him to run away.

After he had been gone some time, it is reported that he sent word to Capt. Taylor from this city, that he did not want to cheat him out of his money, but would return shortly. He had, during the past year he sent several such messages, until at length the captain began to be uneasy about his money, and determined to have the negro arrested.

He obtained a requisition from the Governor of Missouri, and had all the necessary papers made out to secure the arrest. These he placed in the hands of George and John Buchanan, of St. Louis, who started at once for this city, in order to have them served.

On their arrival here, the proper course for them to adopt would have been to place the writ, &c., in the hands of the United States Marshal, and then point out to him the negro. If then he had failed to arrest him, or the citizens had rescued him, the United States would have been bound to indemnify his owner for his loss, in accordance with the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law.

Instead of pursuing this course, they, on seeing the negro passing along the street, undertook to arrest him themselves, which they clearly had no right to do. Aids, however, they were not aware of, but thought they had the right to take the negro wherever they found him. Their mistake, unfortunately for themselves, resulted in their own imprisonment.

Will Kansas be a Free State?—The St. Joseph Gazette, of the 6th, says:—Emigrants are pouring into Kansas. Many of them we learn from free States. Missourians are wide awake, scores of them have gone and are still going into the territory. Hundreds are leaving for Kansas, from Iowa and Tennessee. Most of those who are settling in Kansas from the Western free States, such as Indiana and Illinois, are in favor of making Kansas a slave State. Kentucky too is turning out her sons in favor of making it a slave State. We think there is but little doubt that Kansas will be a slave State, while we believe Nebraska will be free.

From all we can learn the wheat crop of our county will be quite a heavy one. The price of